16: Müller--230 [11] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 611

The ascendants and descendants of the third generation are still considered close relatives.

25: Plaut--58-59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 562, 594, 611

The family relationships among the savage tribes of Formosa present some striking variations. We do not have enough tradition to tell how these originated, but everything indicates that the form of the family today does not represent either the beginning or the end of its development. And as nature and humanity never develop along all lines simultaneously... there are many things in the family life of the natives which have come from earlier times, and which seem like an anachronism now. For example, all of the tribes are strictly monogamous on the basis of perfect equality between the sexes; yet along with that some of them have matrilineal succession from the time of the mother right, and in spite of that they consider that the husband's relatives are blood relatives. We also find that the same tribe is founded on the male line, and yet [59] the mother is the only one who has the right to name the children.

25: Plaut--59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 591, 594, 601, 611

The family has two forms, depending upon whether it is continued in the woman's tribe or in the man's. Among the Puyuma and the Amis it is based entirely on female descendants. Here the oldest daughter is always the heiress of the house, the other daughters receive a share of the property but the sons do not have the right to inherit anything. They are obliged to leave the house and to marry into another. . . .The Tsarisen, on the other hand, only consider the sons as members of the family, but they frequently marry into the woman's house, too. The same thing is true of the Peipo. In one part of the tribe it is customary for the husband to enter his wife's family. Today the Atayal only recognize the man's tribe, but the fact that they only have one word (yaki) to denote the terms ancestor and grandmother, seems to indicate that in former times they observed matrilineal succession too, and they have the custom that the mother is the only one entitled to name the newborn child.

In other tribes it is impossible to determine whether women ever played a similar role or not. Among the Tsoo, for example, the oldest son succeeds his father as master of the house, and the younger ones do not marry into other houses but found separate establishments with a part of their inheritance. The same thing is true among the Bonum. In the Spayowan tribe, the male line seems to have been the dominant one for centuries, for there is just one word, wonu, to designate the grandfather and the grandson.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsanjran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtsik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala'alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *metsevoŋ*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluŋua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluŋoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kahita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 56 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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